

Message Text

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12

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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P 111600Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1251

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0249

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, RH, ZA, TZ, BC, MZ

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS ON RHODESIA

REF: LUSAKA 237 AND 218, DAR 368

1. VISIT OF SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER
TO LUSAKA SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9 TO CONSULT WITH PRESIDENT
KAUNDA, BOTSWANA AND TANZANIA FOREIGN MINISTERS
AND ANC LEADERS WAS SURPRISING CLIMAX TO FIVE
DAYS OF INTENSIVE ACTIVITY ON RHODESIAN QUESTION
BEGINNING WITH ANC-SMITH MEETING IN SALISBURY
FEB 12, THE ANC LEADERS' SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS
IN DAR ES SALAAM WITH "THE FOUR PRESIDENTS"
(KAUNDA, NYERERE, KHAMA, AND MACHEL), AND FURTHER
ANC CONSULTATIONS IN LUSAKA OVER THE WEEKEND.
TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL
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CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA, FOCUS WAS ON IMPL-

MENTATION OF DECEMBER LUSAKA CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT. PARTICULAR PRESSURE WAS EXERTED ON FORMER ZANU PRESIDENT SITHOLE AND HIS TOUGH LUSAKA REPRESENTATIVE CHITEPO TO CEASE DISTURPTIONS AND WORK FOR UNIFIED ANC APPROACH TO SMITH REGIME. ANC IS TO MEET AGAIN WITH SMITH FEB 12, BUT ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MWAANGA TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT THE RHODESIAN LEADER IS TO GO TO CAPE TOWN BEFOREHAND ON FEB 11 AT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S BEHEST TO HEAR WHAT SAG EXPECTS OF HIM. MEANWHILE, DECISIONS ON TIMING AND VENUE OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE REMAIN TO BE MADE.

2. THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF MWAANGA, UK HI COM AND HIS HEAD OF CHANCERY MET FEB 8 WITH ANC VICE PRESIDENT GABELLAH WHO CONFIRMED SITHOLE HAD BEEN STRONGLY CAUTIONED IN DAR TO FALL INTO LINE OR SEE ALL ASSISTANCE WITHDRAWN FROM HIM AND HIS COLLEAGUES. MWAANGA TOLD AMBASSADOR HE HAD SIMILARLY WARNED CHITEPO: "YOU ARE ONLY WHAT WE MADE YOU AND WE CAN BREAK YOU IF NEED BE." AS A DEMONSTRATION OF THEIR DETERMINATION, KAUNDA AND NYERERE HAVE AGREED TO CLOSE DOWN ALL ZANU AND ZAPU OFFICES THIS WEEK. DESPITE THIS PRESSURE, THERE IS DOUBT IN GABELLAH AND MWAANGA MINDS ABOUT THE EXTENT OF SITHOLE'S WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO STICK WITH UNIFIED APPROACH, AND APPARENTLY WITH GOOD REASON. HE INFURIATED THE ZAMBIANS BY VIOLATING THE SECRECY AGREEMENT IN REVEALING TO REUTERS IN SALISBURY MULLER'S ONE-DAY VISIT TO LUSAKA: SITHOLE'S ACCOUNT WAS SO CLEAR AND ACCURATE THAT THE GRZ AND SAG MUTUALLY AGREED THEY WOULD HAVE TO CONFIRM THE VISIT PUBLICLY.

3. IN CONTRAST TO FRUSTRATION AND ANGER FELT ABOUT SITHOLE, MWAANGA EXPRESSED HIGH REGARD FOR GABELLAH'S STATESMANLIKE ROLE. OUR
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BRITISH COLLEAGUES SHARE THIS SENTIMENT.

4. AMONG QUESTIONS CONSIDERED OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS WAS THE TIMING OF THE ANC CONGRESS. THE ZANU AND ZAPU GROUPS HAVE BEEN SPLIT ON THE ISSUE, BUT MWAANGA SAID SITHOLE IS NOW INCLINED TO AGREE WITH ZAPU FACTION IT SHOULD FOLLOW THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. THE MATTER

IS NOT SETTLED, HOWEVER, AND TODAY THE EX-SEC GEN OF ZAPU, EDWARD NDLOVU, TOLD US HE FAVORED HOLDING THE CONGRESS FIRST, THOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE RISK OF DISTURBING THE APPEARANCE OF UNITY WHICH IT IS IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE IN TALKS WITH SMITH PREPARATORY TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

5. AS TO THE SITE AND TIMING OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, MWAANGA WOULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT EXCEPT TO SAY IT MIGHT BE IN MARCH OR APRIL. GABELLAH TOLD THE BRITISH THAT SMITH CONTINUES TO WANT THE CONFERENCE IN RHODESIA, BUT HE INDICATED -- WITHOUT MAKING ANY COMMITMENT -- HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO RELENT ON THIS QUESTIO. GAHELLAH IS OPPOSED TO HOLDING THE CONFERENCE IN NEIGHBORING ZAMBIA, TANZANIA OR BOTSWANA WHERE THERE ARE EXTREMIST ZIMBABWEANS WHO MIGHT MAKE AN ATTEMPT ON SMITH'S LIFE.

6. IN VORSTER TALK WITH SMITH FEB 11, WOULD EXPECT THE WHOLE SET OF PROBLEMS AT ISSUE BETWEEN SMITH AND THE AFRICANS TO COME UP. MWAANGA TICKED SOME OF THESE OFF TO AMBASSADOR: DETAINEE RELEASE, LIFTING OF STATE OF EMERGENCY, CEASE-FIRE CONDITIONS, AND CONTINUED HANGINGS. ANC VIEWS ON THESE QUESTIONS RAISED WITH MULLER. IT NOTEWORTHY THAT MWAANGA PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT HANGINGS, OF WHICH HE SAID THERE HAVE BEEN AT LEAST NINE, DESPITE SMITH DENIALS, SINCE LUSAKA AGREEMENT OF DECEMBER 11.

7. IT IS VIEW OF BRITISH HERE THAT, UNLESS SITHOLE UPSETS THINGS, SMITH WILL SOON
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RECOMMENCE RELEASE OF DETAINEES.
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